

Maclean's

TWO SPRING
HITS BY
TIMOTHY FINDLEY

THE WESTRAY FILE

THE POLITICS, THE DEALS
—AND THE GRIEF—ONE
YEAR AFTER THE MINE
EXPLOSION



ON THE RECORD: Clifford Frame, flamboyant chairman of Curragh Inc.

Gorbachev's fans

Regarding your article on former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev ("History's man," *Cover*, April 5), I find it odd that this man is still celebrated in the West. This is the "revisionist" who caused the cover-up of the Chernobyl disaster. This is the "democrat" and Nobel Peace Prize winner who ordered Soviet troops action in Lithuania. Gorbachev will go down in history as being one of the major players behind the biggest world political shift since the Second World War. He will also go down as a man despised at home while somehow maintaining his status as an international hero in the West. The Russian people and media accord Gorbachev little importance in today's changes. When will the West learn from this mistake?

Gordon Kluge,
Winnipeg, Man.



Gorbachev: ignored and despised at home, but international hero in the West

from its domestic farm production, and Ukraine's potential for agricultural export can fully satisfy this shortcoming. There are the factors that have led to attempts at creating closer ties.

Solomon Shkashuk
Toronto

himself and to her readers to better inform herself regarding the appalling oppression millions of women suffer at the hands of their countries' religious regimes. I, for one, am heartily proud of Canada's courage and ground-breaking stand on this generally overlooked issue.

Margy Ellen Collins
Campbell River, B.C.

Photo negative

Your magazine is my preferred source of current-affairs information. It is as in-depth than radio and television reports and far less intrusive. That is why I found so upsetting the photo of a dead man in a pool of blood accompanying your story on the Mita ("The road to Corinto," *World*, March 26). It presents us with two choices: suffer the horror of each act of violence fully, or become desensitized to the killing. As far as I am concerned, the latter choice is not a choice at all if we aim to retain our humanity. I resent having to feed the strength of my stomach in order to feed my intellect.

Samantha Volk,
Montreal, Sask.

Peace in Eastern Europe can be maintained if Russia is stabilized and if Ukraine maintains its independence. Dore Francis's analysis is accurate on that account. The tension between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton sent a positive strong signal to the world. It should be followed by a corresponding ultimatum which would affirm support for Ukraine's independence.

Nyoma Kowalsky, M.A.
Regina

World's Pollyanna

Barbara Aniel is right ("The female idealism is a fraudulent concept," *Covers*, March 26). Canada has become a joke country: we are the naive Pollyanna of the world stage, desperate to be seen as the vanguard of fashionable political causes. Apply to the ministry of motherhood and you will be put up as charge of your own impressively ill-fated National Committee Board Task Force. Incompetence is not an obstacle. Our lack of action is full of politically correct charades, all glowing at the public trough.

Richard Kruer
Winnipeg

It interests me that Barbara Aniel can, with pleasant accuracy, identify the failures and hypocrisy of the liberals of the world, while completely missing her own. She owes it to

CLARIFICATION

In the Feb. 8 issue of *Maclean's*, "Gift of Horror," *Covers* the magazine published a photograph that showed, among other people, several adult members of Roch Theriault's Art Hill Bible commune. An accompanying caption identified the couple sitting on the couch as neighbors. *Maclean's* wishes to emphasize that the neighbors shown in the photograph had minimal contact with Theriault and his followers and neither knew about nor condoned the activities carried on at the commune.

Letter sent to *Maclean's*. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone. Write: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, Box 1000, 100 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C2. Tel: (416) 593-2266 or 2266-7235.

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Needy ties

In Dore Francis's column "A treaty signed with uncertain haste" (April 5), she wrote that a connection between Ukraine and Iran should be a worry to the world. The column, however, failed to give much background on why the relationship has arisen. Each country possesses what the other seriously requires. Ukraine needs oil and gas from Iran, now that it cannot rely on supplies from Russia. Iran is unable to meet its food needs

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ANOTHER VIEW



When Canada shuts down

BY CHARLES GORDON

Most Canadians let loose in the world develop a greater appreciation for their own country and are anxious to get home. Coming back from the beauty, the chaos and greed of Africa, we passed through London and walked to Trafalgar Square, where we topped our hats to Canada House: proud symbol of the peace, affluence and generosity to which we were returning. A week after returning, we read that Canada House was slated to be shut down.

Of course it was no surprise. Everything else in Canada is shutting down, as delicate conservatives grip the national purse strings. Concerning Canada House and Trafalgar Square, authority in this country says to say, "What is great stop this in for a building with Canada's name carved into it? Nobody thinks." Yes, thousands of people use Canada House every day, and maybe a few will come through the doors to get from the parents and find something about our country. Not in these times. Canada has another building in London, the embassy which remains. So the services—the library, the registry centre—that Canada House has been providing have gradually been whittled down over the past few years. People coming through the doors have not found much of anything, and now External Affairs is in the process of deciding that it is not cost-efficient to maintain a building that is one of the landmarks of London, and therefore the Workers' world.

But it is no surprise. Our current nation is shrinking along these lines, and much of the Western world is too. The federal government is providing fewer services and employing fewer people. Concerning Africa, its problems are no longer viewed as our problem, as Ottawa shifts aid and priorities to Europe. As home, faced with an unemployment crisis and

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen. He took home the No Not Too Bad award at the month by McGillivray & Stewart.

a stalled economy, the federal government retreats into its shell and pulls in its head.

Problems do the same. Governments of both the left and right cut programs and services left and right, hoping somewhere that government's decision will reward them for their brevity. The CBC, facing a crisis of funding and time, cuts its operations to the bone and gives up on its goal of telling Canadian stories to Canadians and alerting the readers of the country to speak to each other. The private sector is no better. Newspapers retrench, shrinking staff, budget and news space. Factories cut back, move, close. Nobody in Canada has expanded anything in years, it feels like.

Aversion of risk is all-pervasive and will express in take risk a macrocosm. As risk is now defined, it is less likely to contain than engaged. Many risky to open than to close. Even overseas radicals have accepted the prevailing ethic, as a look at the governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan shows. It matters not that a young generation of Canadians has never known work, and that the members of an older generation have had the end-charged of their careers. Government and business will not act, except to shrink away.

Why is that? It was only a few years ago that victory seemed at hand. The Cold War was over, and the peace dividend was ready to be cashed; opportunity loomed. We could begin the task of making better not worse, pleasures not wealth. We could begin saving the environment and improving life for everyone on the planet. None of that happened. Instead, we found, in all sectors, our lives suddenly run by fearful people; their attention riveted on the risk of losing what we have, rather than the opportunity to create more and share it more fully. Just at the moment of our greatest triumph, weapons seized the corridors of power. How did they get it?

Some of the problem is lack of ideological competition. Internally, the right rules by default. The left has given up. As Michael Ignatieff, the London-based Canadian writer, has noted, no one questions The System any more. The words "The System" are not even spoken. Internationally, the same ideological monopoly prevails. For all the evils of the Cold War, the competition of ideologies did at least generate some rule-taking. Africa got all kinds of help from the West when the West was afraid that Africa would end and from the East. Now there is, in effect, no East and all Africa gets its lectures from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. That, plus a note from the Canadian International Development Agency, saying that it has resumed its quarrels.

Fearful men — for they are surely they — are in charge: afraid to signal, afraid to build, afraid to innovate, afraid to say "yes." As a consequence, the poor get poorer, the worker gets less work, the consumer gets less choice, the student gets less opportunity, the reader gets less to read, the voter less to see, the thoughtful less to think about. Canada, one of the most blessed countries on earth, is scared to places paralyzed by pessimism. The way out of it is only slowly perceived. It seems to consist of government and industry spinning their wheels, keeping close to a minimum, hoping that someone else will do something.

When they said that the week would be better, the earth, what we have now couldn't be what they had in mind.

The assumption is that this can't go on for ever. But maybe it can. The Workers' World Party, for example, has the patience of stone to face, unless the cycle is broken. Surely, somebody must be ready to take charge, to try something new, to express a plan instead of close it, to start a program instead of end one, to have instead of let, to build a new kind of class in society, to assist in children, the environment, the Third World future, instead of hiding under the covers whispering about credit ratings.

That is the way out of it. That is the way to regain confidence in our country, the way to have a day we are proud enough to fly over our own country. Unless we require more in the bag, we must even decide that it is worth keeping the bookish there that it really has the name CANADA carved into it.



Klein (second from right) at the Tories' recent convention; racist and homophobic slurs by Tory caucus members

CANADA

ON THE RIGHT TRACK

It was a chaotic case of the other shoe dropping. Hours after more than 1,000 cheering Alberta Conservatives ended their daily orchestrated annual convention in Edmonton on April 4, Premier Ralph Klein approved the release of an audio tape first report on the province's finances. The pro-conservative Alberta Financial Review Commission, established by the government in January, did not pull any punches. Its report last week attacked eight years of overspending by the governing Tories—and condemned the "apparent lack of an overall plan" by having government expenditures under control. In fact, conservative chairman Marshall Williams, a director and former chairman of Transalta Utilities Corp., compared the situation to "a race on piling down the track into a wall." For Klein, the (third) news spoke the most serious challenge yet to his chances of reappointing the Tory party—and leading it to victory in the provincial

THE ALBERTA TORIES UNDER PREMIER RALPH KLEIN ENJOY A SURGE IN PUBLIC SUPPORT

election that must be held by March, 1994. Still, the news for Klein has not all been bad. Thanks largely to the personal popularity of the former Calgary mayor, who became premier last December after a disaster last election campaign to replace Donald Getty, the Tories have again vaulted to the lead in public opinion polls. Last September, when

Getty announced his retirement, the Tories' popular support stood at 30 per cent, barely ahead of the NDP with 27 per cent and well behind the Liberals' 41 per cent. But according to an Embrasse Research Group Ltd. poll taken in late March, 40 per cent of undecided voters now support the Tories, compared with 34 per cent for Laurence Decore's Liberals and 15 per cent for the New Democratic Party, led by Raymond Marle. Conservative party members say that the allyship of Klein, who served three three-year terms as Calgary mayor before entering provincial politics in the March, 1988, election, is largely at the heart of the Tory resurgence. "We have lost that because the leader always being surrounded by his entourage," still Ronald Nicholas, president of the Calgary Centre riding association. "Ralph Klein is a different type of cat." The Premier's campaign touch was clearly in evidence at the party convention. Sporting

jeans, an open-necked shirt and a bowed sports jacket, he moved easily among the delegates, shaking hands and coffeeing many of them by their first names. Since becoming premier, he has also cultivated his public image, appearing in a frenetic itinerary that has included visiting remote prairie towns, dropping packs at rural hockey games and hosting his own *Ask Ralph* week on TV show, carried in Calgary and Edmonton, in which the premier responds to questions from Albertans.

But that man-of-the-people image makes a strain of political realism. None of the five fellow Getty cabinet members who ran against Klein for the leadership received a post in his cabinet. All have since decided not to seek re-election—along with 22 fellow members of the Tories' (December) caucus. At the same time, backed largely by strong rural support, Klein is moving his party further to the right. During his last months in office, he has slashed the cabinet to 17 members from 26 and started cutting the civil service, largely through voluntary severance packages. "Make no mistake about it—Alberta is under new management," he told the convention in a speech that drew a standing ovation. "We are driven by a desire to restructure our activities to conservative principles."

Klein's largely unopposed cabinet alterations have certainly injected the image of a man righting ship. Social Services Minister Michael Cardinal, for one, has said that he intends to introduce work-for-welfare schemes, while Justice Minister Doug Fowler has called for fewer comforts for prison inmates. But Klein drew the line when outgoing Community Development Minister Brian Mirowski declared that the ideal assignment to Alberta should be English-speaking and trained for the job—what he subsequently apologized after the premier ordered him to do so. And even some local party supporters were shaken at the sexist and homophobic nature of some of the slurs performed by Tory caucus members during the party convention.

In one shot, James Hornehan, former deputy premier to Getty, affected a large-winded manner as he played as openly

gay writer named Serge—only hours after the convention approved a resolution to deny specific protection to gays and lesbians under Alberta's human rights legislation. In another, Mirowski referred to a lesbian in the pocket of MLA Stockwell Day dressed up as a housewife, with the line, "Is that a semi-automatic registered pistol in your pocket, or are you glad to see me?" Said Red Deer Conservative Narvaez Speaker of the March 31: "Now women needs to stay away from that." Far less tact, Klein reacted with exasperation to the flood of media criticism that followed the convention. "Do we have to be so politically correct all the time?" he said. "Can't we have a little fun, too?"

In fact, the Tories' shift to the right—and Klein's provocative rural populism—may harm the province's chances of reelection in its own middle- and upper-income riding of Calgary-Gloucester. His rising vocal solidarity for Hutterite backwoods Klein's men rival as the leadership campaign and Getty's battle against. "I have problems in Elbow," Klein acknowledged. "It is a sophisticated riding. Maybe I don't fit the image. There are two kinds of Tory—one is the businessman type, and the other is the farmer and other ordinary good hearted folk. Maybe, I appeal to the second one."

But in order to maintain that appeal some critics say that Klein must move more decisively to address Alberta's economic problems—especially in the wake of the Financial Review Commission's devastating report. Said the commission's Williams: "In six years of long before we are going to be the richest of some of the worst-off provinces in North America is done." During the leadership campaign, Klein promised that he would eliminate Alberta's \$3.2 billion deficit in four years. Since then, he has also promised to reduce the deficit plan so he will achieve that goal before the next election. Decore, for one, says that Klein's pledges are "yellow promises." As Albertans await an election, Klein must still show them that he is not just a friendly face—but someone capable of leading the government's incoming financial woes.

JOHN BROWNE is in Edmonton.

THE TORY RACE

High Sept. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's chief of staff, under days of widespread speculation by suggesting that he would not be a candidate for the Conservative Party's September 1993 federal leadership race. Mulroney's chief of staff, Michael Wilson, said that he would not be a candidate for the party's leadership race. Wilson said that he would not be a candidate for the party's leadership race.



QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"More than wanting to be prime minister, or even the best candidate in this race, I want to be the best father and husband I can be."

—High Sept. Mulroney, announcing his decision to step out of the Conservative leadership contest

Canada Notes

BOURASSA'S RETURN

Six weeks after undergoing highly experimental cancer treatment at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., Quebec premier Robert Bourassa made his first appearance in the provincial legislature to a standing ovation from all members. Bourassa's return to the public eye appeared related to a potentially fractious caucus debate over whether to allow Quebec's French-only constitutional sign law. The premier said that a 100 conservative caucus members' objections on the right to freedom of expression "could be as clear as the sun in the government's decision. Bourassa is scheduled to return to Bethesda next month for a progress report on his health.

THE MASTERS AFFAIR

Ottawa's Top Premier Bob Rae released a report saying that Carlton Manning, the province's former agent general in New York City, sexually harassed seven female employees. Rae said that the report's conclusions, based on an investigation by a "Toronto law firm," speak for themselves. Ministers, who resigned last December, strongly denounce the allegations.

NATIVE TAX BATTLE

NDP efforts drew over 400,000 signatures from Indians who had not put roadblocks in New Brunswick to protest the government's March 26 budget. While critics still suggest onerous exemptions from the province's 15-per-cent sales tax, the budget ended their campaign from that on. On goods consumed by the province. But after meeting with native leaders, government officials effectively avoided the exemption by agreeing that goods purchased off reserves would not be taxed as long as they were used on reserves.

DIPLOMATIC CUTS

The department of external affairs is closing 10 missions in order to meet a three-per-cent budget cut of 321 million. Among the closures were two embassies in Baghdad and one in the 1980 Gulf War, said Jean Chrétien, the minister of external affairs. As well as the consulate general in San Francisco.

WILSON FIGHTS ON

B.C. Liberal leader Gordon Wilson said that he will contest the party's leadership convention in September despite a call for his resignation from the party's executive council. Wilson, 46, a facing opposition over his relationship with former house leader Jack Tytla, 28, former party leader Gordon Wilson and last week that he will also seek the leadership.

THE WESTRAY FILE

When it opened 19 months ago, the Westray coal mining project was a non-union proposition—guaranteed funding, a guaranteed market at good prices and guaranteed jobs in the hard-hat community of Pictou County, N.S., where the mine is located.

The project promised low-risk profits for subcontracting mining megacorp Clifford Curragh's Carragh Inc. Westray's Toronto-based owner, whose 30-year-old business was built on Yukon and B.C. zinc and lead deposits which, like Westray coal, were resource companies had refused to touch if promised political dividends for Westray's partners in Ottawa and Halifax, must prove nearby Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who was first elected to Parliament by the people of Pictou in 1980, and Premier Donald Cameron, who represents Pictou first, it provided 15 or 20 years of work at good wages for 200 local employees and opened gates across Canada.

All that optimism brightened the celebrations of Westray's opening at the Pictou village of Plymouth on Sept. 11, 1981. Eight months later, on May 8, 1982, the celebration and the promises shattered in a pre-dawn explosion that wrenched out the overhang shaft of 26 men and wrecked the mine-deep mine.

And the controversies that followed the explosion, and while Curragh and its dwindling band of allies campaign to remove the Pictou project and the shut-down Yukon mine, Westray remains a textbook case of an enterprise that overrules arguments of economic logic, the prevailing political ideology and even common sense. Propelled by a convergence of customer panic, political ambition and social need,

such ventures acquire a momentum that defies all doubts.

It is a process that compels governments to pour taxpayers' money into private enterprises even when the same administrations crusade to reduce government and to stimulate free-wheeling competition. In recent years, the Mulroney government has doled out between \$2.5 billion and \$9 billion annually to provide income as its direct grants and contributions alone. In the Westray project, according to a study in the 1982 Report of the Auditor General to the House of Commons, federal and provincial loan guarantees, tax credits and other concessions would provide a generous \$100 for every \$100 in pre-production costs. To the sum of about \$700 million in public money went the public money work on Westray; there is now an additional commitment of more than \$25 million to families of the dead miners and millions more in the eyes of an RCMP criminal investigation and a deferred provincial judicial inquiry.

Such public funding of private enterprise is far from unique in Canada. Nor is it new. More than 600 years ago, the British Crown subsidised the first substantial mining venture on Canadian soil—a misguided gold rush

in the islands of Frodozier Bay and on the Baltic Island share. Explorer Martin Frobisher, financed in part by 1,000 pounds from Queen Elizabeth I, led more than 600 men in 1575 on a fruitless mining venture that he abandoned in 1578 after a supply ship sank, with protestant balladry warning to leave the miners.

Four centuries later, Mulroney defends the Crown's support for the Westray project, adding an \$80-million loan guarantee, as being "in the interests of economic development." He has consulted it to government consultants to Ilbertia,



the Newfoundland offshore oil project, and to financing for Curragh's Yukon lead-zinc mines in the 1980s—commitments of almost \$3 billion in cash and loan insurance to Ilbertia and about \$30 million in a similar manner to all in the Yukon venture. What makes the Westray case especially volatile is not only the deaths of the miners. It also is values evidence that some federal advisers had balked at financing the project. It raises an ideological question that if public money bears the bulk of the risk, then the public should share in the profits. And it focuses attention on the conflict between Conservative and Liberal in both Ottawa and Halifax, and between two depressed regions of Nova Scotia.

The debate centres on the wisdom of creating the publicly financed but privately owned Westray to compete with nearby Cape Breton coal mines. These mines are owned by the Cape Breton Mines Company Corp. (CBMCO), a Crown company created by the federal Liberals in 1967. The Liberals argue that Curragh's Tacy government robbed CBMCO of a potential market and jobs by guaranteeing Westray a near-door market in a new Tacon power station, opened in 1980 by Crown-owned Nova Scotia Power Corp. The critics are also concerned that the provincial government made a deal to pay Westray up to \$10 million a year for more coal, whether mined or not, and granted conditional rights to capture Crown-owned surface coal credits. A counterargument held that low-sulphur Westray coal would save the power company the cost of installing scrubbing devices. Thus, the new Tacon station operates with coal from CBMCO and from an open pit Pictou mine at Westville.

The critics emphasize the historic hazards of surface gas and unstable geology in the Pictou coalfields, where 245 miners died in underground explosions between 1838 and 1922, when Pictou miners began to get out. They cite a series of mine investigations and safety studies from provincial inspectors up to 11 days before the fatal explosion. Implicit is that all stakeholders in such projects—owners, political partners and employees—were under pressure to succeed, and in fact, deadliness. Premier and leader Andrew McLean, for one, has referred in the House of Commons to "serious safety concerns" cited in a letter of study before Westray opened and concluded that "there was inadequate time given to deal with the serious concerns that were raised."

But for Cliff Curragh, whose projects today threaten fatal collapse, the concern is to get back to the basics of economic development, and the public benefits that flow from it. Few who have, he lowered his career in Canada and overseas entirely coast out his chances of reviving both Westray and the Yukon mines, with government support. The *Northern Miner* weekly newspaper, which Curragh owns as "Miner Man of the Year" twice, has described him as "a master of exploiting politically driven situations." His most potent leverage for recovery rests, in the past, on the coalition of interests with heavy investments at stake in the commercial, political and social success of his and similar ventures.

LEGACY OF DESPAIR

AS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF A TRAGEDY APPROACHES, CONTROVERSY STILL SWIRLS AROUND THE WESTRAY CASE

It was an unseasonably cold spring night as the early evening customers began arriving at the bar at the *Westray Hotel* in Sillery, N.S. And by 7:30 p.m., the lively bar room was full, full, so the beer and liquor flowed and the conversation warmed to a familiar theme—the future of the Westray coal mine, whose white and blue buildings and giant conveyor belts loomed in the dark a few blocks away. Sitting at the end bar cradling a drink in his thick fingers, Richard Rouse—about two and 200 lb—ticked off the reasons for reopening the mine, killed by the underground explosion that killed 26 men last May 9. “There is no question that we can make this a safe operation,” concluded Rouse, who became Westray’s general manager in January after 33 years running mining projects across North America. At a nearby hotel, Stacie Fawcett, the local president of the United Steelworkers Union of America, which represented 229 of the

workers at the mine, could hardly contain his frustration. “Good mine, politics,” and the miner whose unemployment insurance runs out at the end of June, “that’s all that’s keeping my men from going back to work.”

From the beginning, the Westray coal mine has been a crucible of politics. And in the first anniversary of the tragedy approaches, a swirling cloud of controversy darkens the Westray case while politicians in both Halifax and Ottawa gear up for elections this fall. A 16-member RCMP team, based in Truro, prepared to close an investigation with a

decision on whether to lay criminal charges. A provincial police inquiry into the disaster, under a court order to delay public hearings until after any criminal cases are tried, or dropped, catalogued thousands of pages of documentary evidence

about the whole Westray affair. Gerald Phillips, the man replaced by Rouse as the mine’s general manager, is working on a company post-mortem in the Toronto head office of Canam Inc., Westray’s owner. In the same highway headquarters, Clifford Francis, Canam’s chairman, chief corporate officer and major shareholder, talks about the funds and government help to reopen Westray—and his Volvo biomedical center—after gaining court-approved protection from creditors until the end of June. It is Francis’s opinion, expressed in an interview with Maclean’s, that his recovery plan is being held up by “the high-profile politics of it.”

Francis managed the entrance of politics in his enterprise when he successfully lobbied for government financial aid. The tangled Westray drama was played out in the office of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and among some of the most influential politicians in Ottawa and Halifax. Even before the fatal accident last May, rival mine promoters complained about favoritism by governments, politicians viewed repeated warnings of unsafe mine conditions and federal bureaucrats cautioned Ottawa about offering too much financial backing to the ill-fated project. But the project recovered the political goodwill, despite the warning signs.

Eugene Johnson's destiny was foretold long before he was born. His great-grandfather and his grandfather both died working the rails, and coal seams of Pictou County, which have claimed the lives of more than 600 miners, form accidents since 1838. His father, who lived to talk about it, made his living clearing coal from the same black seams. By the time Eugene turned 19, he was a shoveling, forking shifter with a shock of red hair and a thick mustache.

More than just about anything in the world, he wanted to do a miner's job and follow his forebears underground. Not surprisingly, when a job came up in 1937 at a deep mine on Anson Road near of Westville, N.S., he jumped at it.

The staid elegance of Clifford Francis's driveway is a long way from the benches of a mine shaft. Despite the dark suit, slicked back green hair, handkerchief and cuff links he wears only on special occasions, Francis is still unmistakably the man who started out as a mine shaft boss before building Canam Inc. into one of the world's biggest lead and zinc exporters. The mining boss says, “I love it,” he said. “This is my vocation, my avocation, my spare time.”

Francis's ability to persuade governments to finance and nurture his endeavors is legendary in the business world. His talent came into full play after the Nova Scotia Power Corp., the provincial electric utility, made plans in the middle 1980s to build a new 110-megawatt coal-fired power generator in Truro, a community and the gentle rolling hills—and the coal deposits—of Pictou County. Complicating matters, however, was the Canada-New Scotia Acid Rain Agreement, signed in 1989, which required the utility to cap its sulphur emissions in 145,000 tons a year by 1994.

To meet most of its other generators, the power company simply bought Cape Breton coal, mined by the heavily subsidized Cape Breton Development Corp. (DBPC), a federal Crown corporation. But the DBPC coal was relatively high in sulphur. And adding scrubbers to cut emissions in the proposed generator—to be known as Truro No. 6—and the existing Truro No. 5 facility, which burned Cape Breton coal,

Westray mine for the families of 21 men whose remains lie underground, there will be no safe conclusion, no forgetting

would have cost Nova Scotia Power another \$250-million.

Instead, the power company was crying the coal from the nearby Pictou mines around哈利法斯, which was known to contain coal of lower sulphur content and an estimated 45 billion tons of reserves—more than was considered by some authorities to be one of the most dangerous coal seams in the world because of its high concentration of potentially explosive methane gas. If the plan worked out, DBPC, a 1997 child of the federal Liberals in staunchly Liberal Cape Breton, would be left to find other markets for its coal. In the agreement that set up DBPC, the Nova Scotia government agreed to refrain from buying new coal mining permits without DBPC's consent until 1992.

After that agreement expired, the question was who would develop a new coal mine in



Johnson: "We are the Westville miners, so full and so proud"

of \$35,780.80 to the federal Conservative party. But they also gave \$27,000 over the same period to the Liberals, including \$12,000 in 1990 and 1991, more than three times the amount donated to the Tories in those two years.

Nova Scotia Tories also lobbied heavily in Ottawa on behalf of Cornish. Buchanan personally visited the town with Mulroney. So did Donald Cameron. By then, the whole issue had the appearance of just another parochial political battle. The Pictou problem—Cameron and Mulroney—publicly rebuffed federal cost awards when they listened for the routback. Meanwhile, in the Nova Scotia legislature and the House of Commons, Cape Breton politicians, led by Liberal MLA Harold Bradshaw and Liberal MP David Dingwall, repeatedly attacked the cause from a local, racial and financial standpoint.

Despite those complaints, and some concerns in the federal bureaucracy, Ottawa chose to back the project. In June, 1990, the department of industry, science and technology guaranteed 95 per cent of a \$100-million loan to Cornish from the Bank of Nova Scotia and provided an interest-rate buy-down—effect, a promise that Ottawa would insure the extra cost of interest rates charged—worth roughly \$9 million. Federal bureaucrats and Cape Breton politicians were not the only people unhappy with the decision. The 1993 auditor general's report, for one, noted that the public was actually committed to 300 per cent of the mine's net production costs, and (perhaps more significantly) that "these efforts are not sufficient to ensure that the mine is profitable as a starting development investment, and \$700,000 in research and development funding."

The federal government did try to secure an interest-free loan from Pictou to try to win its support. Westray had to find a market for roughly 300,000 extra tons of Pictou coal each year. Cameron rose to the rescue. Through an order-in-council, which he recommended, provincial Crown corporation Novascot Ltd. entered into a "take-or-pay" deal under which it was obligated to take 270,000 tons of coal from Westray each year if the company failed to find another buyer. Thanks to the Nova Scotia government, Westray had its sales contracts and Pictou County its new jobs.

A crowd of 800 people waited as Clifford Fraser, flanked by his left by Elmer MacKay and to his right by Donald Cameron, cut through the ceremonial ribbon. Sept. 17, 1991, marked the official opening of the Westray mine. But Elmer Johnson spent the day working dirt in the mine shaft. After six months on the job, his excitement had begun to fade. He was not a complete novice. But at least he told his wife about seeing another of roof collapses. Her anxiety also grew—as the point that she would panic if he was late coming home from a work shift.



Howard Bradshaw knew all about the roof falls. Even before the official opening, Westray miners had been coming to work with complaints about caving-in and safety procedures. At first, no one really listened—including Bradshaw's own caucus colleagues. But now, because he'd been hit by persistent campaign against the project.

With more complaints, the media seemed

uninterested. Even before the mine opened, a July, 1990, article in the *Climax-Miracle* raised the safety issue. The following March, *The Northern Mirror*, which paid the closest media attention to the mine's development, noted that some of the claims in Pictou County were subject to perfunctory press releases.

For the most part, politics—not safety—

A VOLATILE MIXTURE

Although investigators have yet to disclose the exact cause of the explosion in the Westray coal mine that killed 26 miners last May, it would appear events suggested that a volatile gas fire ignited a much more powerful explosion of coal dust.

The hazards associated with excessive levels of methane and coal dust are well-known among coal miners. Methane is a highly flammable, carbon-based gas emitted by decomposing plants or animals in marshes or swamps. But because methane is colorless and odorless, it is difficult to detect. According to Geoffrey Carter, a former coal mining executive and now a safety analyst with Broad Oak Associates in Toronto, small pockets of methane frequently build up near the walls of coal mines, often making it unsafe—but harmless—flames or flames when ignited by sparks from machinery. He added that these pockets usually

disrupt quickly and pose minimal danger. However, the feared coal veins that Westray was mining in Pictou County, N.S., has a higher methane content than most pools in North America. And, as some sources, the veins run over 3,000 feet below the surface, in many places, making it difficult for miners to escape instantly. And coal dust, highly flammable, is extremely hazardous if accumulated in large quantities.

Still, Carter, for one, said that the Westray mine can be operated safely, as long as miners follow safety procedures that are standard in the industry. One essential requirement is to ensure that methane detectors and automatic shut-off mechanisms on digging and cutting machines are functioning properly. As well, the rock must be well-ventilated. And to neutralize the coal dust, miners must continue—or "dust"—regularly with pulverized limestone, rendering it inert.

Trenton, N.S., power generating station, Cansco and Midway (below) getting the Prime Minister's Office on-side

grabbed the media's attention. A 24th annual program, which aired on CRTC-TV on Dec. 11, 1990, revealed that Solstice Construction Ltd., a company owned by Eric Barker, a large contributor to Cameron's 1988 election campaign, had won a \$5-million, as-yet-unstarted contract to build the spur line and railway bridge at the mine site.

The next day, Cameron, then in the midst of a campaign to fill the province's chair left vacant when John Buchanan entered the Senate, looked out at the "beautiful job." Said the bad press did not stop him from winning the leadership of the Tory party, on Feb. 5, 1991.

Before long, his old services, Roadsman, was back—bidding the new province about a road collapse in late May, making the reputation that Westray had gained from provincial mining regulations and questioning the safety record at Fraser's lead mine in Pano.

Cameron and his government, for the most part, disputed his questions. "They [the Liberals] are not concerned about the safety of the miners, they just want to blame someone else there," declared Lewis Minister Lewis Lezard in July, 1991. "As long as they can find blame, they are satisfied." The government insisted in a similar fashion in October when Bradshaw called for the mine to be closed, after learning about two more cave-ins.

All the same, there were subtle, subtle signs of panic below the surface. That same month the *Halifax* correspondent for two Thomson News-owned dailies, the *Cape Breton Post* of Sydney and the *New Glasgow Evening News*, wrote a story telling of a few miners who had quit their jobs at Westray because of safety concerns. As it turned out, the problems ran much deeper. Inspection reports later made public reveal that after a provincial news reporter visited the mine on Sept. 30 and noted a high level of coal dust

and poor roof conditions, he said that "some of the men I spoke to are very concerned about the condition of the mine." He recalled that an underground miner he brought in to do a study of the mine. A month later, labor department officials held a meeting at the mine to discuss roof conditions and the seven falls that had occurred since development work began in 1989.

As the day, Westray outlined a number of steps it was going to take to improve conditions. By then, though, the company had other problems. It began delivering coal to Nova Scotia Power in September, but the delivery dates had an unsatisfactory high coal content. Meanwhile, Cornish was at a financial squeeze. A 10-week strike at the Pano mine along with planning and coal prices ate into resources. For the year ending Dec. 31, 1991, the company lost \$86 million, compared with a profit of \$32 million for the previous year. Desperate for money, Fraser got Westray on the auction block in late October. That, once again, the Nova Scotia government came to his rescue.

Early on Jan. 6, 1992, residents on the outskirts of Stellarton looked to the sound of earth-moving equipment in their backyards. They noticed two men in a construction suit in Pictou County. Back in the late 1970s, another company, George Winsky Canada Ltd., ran into resistance when it tried to raise the surface coal on the ridge of Stellarton. Among the early opponents: MLA Donald Cameron, who raised environmental concerns about the project.

As premier, however, he took a different view of things. Two months earlier, the Nova Scotia government had passed an order-in-

council that granted a mining lease to the property to Westray. Waiving the usual environmental approval requirements, Westray was then permitted to take a 100,000-acre "take" from the state to use as a test barn at one of the Pano plants.

The ensuing uproar forced the government and Cornish to produce a full environmental assessment if they chose to develop the strip mine. But by June, Cornish had applied for environmental permits to mine 150,000-300,000 tons a year from the strip mine. And the province's newly appointed environment minister, Terry Donovan, had stated that he would not necessarily be guided by his predecessor's assessments to a full environmental assessment.

Engine took some raising from co-workers when his name was chosen from the hat. On April 28, 1992, at a ceremony in Montreal, he was to accept the Canadian Institute of Mining Metallurgy and Petroleum's coveted John T. Donohue Award for safety which Walter Goss had won. "Everyone who worked down there thought it was out of the blue," says Goss, recalled. "The day they got that day they got the post from Elizabeth [his wife] mine manager Gerald Hildes and his wife, Catherine, were also a shock. The highlight for me, seeing a mining Stanley Cup [Hildes' trophy] given at the Montreal Forum, during which the normally solemn mine is joined in the work." When they returned to Westray, "Engine worked one day and then was off for four days. Then he was sent to their 14-hour shift from May 5 until May 5."

Clifford Fraser seemed close to tears as he sat at the table full of microphones. As TV cameras and newspaper photographers jostled for position, the Cornish chairman spoke in low tones about his brother, who had died in a mine accident in British Columbia in 1985. It was the evening of May 18—four nights after a methane explosion within the Westray mine shaft triggered a fierce coal dust explosion that caused 26 deaths. The two blasts had struck a house 800 yds away. Earlier that day, Francis was held for eight of the 11 men whose bodies had been recovered. As he spoke, cameras circled in a path through the tunnel in search of the wreckage. 13 hours in the shaft, but in the end they only recovered four cores. Fraser, who was visiting his first appearance before reporters, refused to answer questions about mine safety. "My wife has talked to the families on several occasions," he said. "They're tired of my wife's face—they're afraid of me. They're the kind of people I love."

A day earlier, Donald Cameron had sat at the same table—in his place of provincial sorrow. "I want



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to tell you, if I could have in any way been what has happened here the past few days. But now we all need to have different judgments," he said. At the same time, when reporters asked whether his inexperience on pushing the project was somehow responsible for the tragedy, he was obstinate. "There were so many bits told about this particular mine that it is hard to separate it from the mine," he declared.

The confusion, in truth, was just beginning. The explosion triggered a media feeding frenzy as reporters tracked out a steady stream of miners and experts who alleged that Westray officials failed to properly train workers—and constantly ignored safety in their rush to get its contract with Nova Scotia Power.

The politicians were also running for cover. Under questioning in the House of Commons, federal cabinet ministers Jean Charest and John Ego admitted that they had heard concerns about methane in the mine. In Halifax, opposition N.S. An gilld Nova Scotia Labor Minister Legere, whose department was responsible for mine safety. Legere said that a mass supervisor trial held to follow up on an April 22 order by Westray to close up its "explosive" coal dust problem at the mine. The province's department of natural resources was also chastened when a Halifax newspaper revealed that the department had approved a new design layout for the mine five months before the explosion—even though officials within the department had safety concerns about the changes.

Inside and outside of the legislature, people demanded an answer to the burning question of why the tragedy had occurred. Cameron's government responded quickly—the day after the explosion the premier himself announced an independent judicial inquiry into the events surrounding the case.



Gaspereau: "There were so many bits told about this mine"

The labor department launched its own investigation to determine whether provincial safety laws were broken. The RCMP, meanwhile, scolded off the mine shift and seized documents on boxes of documents from the Westray offices following allegations that officials had been shredding paper

able to repay the \$12 million it borrowed from the province in 1996 if it were able to proceed with the coal pit mine.

Clearly, though, Carruth was no longer as welcome in Pictou County as it had once been. Carruth's professionally managed public relations strategy quickly head-on-

the Nova Scotia labor department mounted dangerous incidents and hazards in 22 reports.

They include 10 closures, the latest on March 28, 1992. There are five references to coal dust, and five to the need for better use of limestone dust to neutralize its explosive qualities. The latest on order, issued 10 days before the explosion, is clean up coal dust.

Some of the reports include such positive statements as "mine dust was very good" and "satisfactory good." Only one injury is reported—a dislocated ankle when a worker caught his foot in a conveyor belt on Dec. 31, 1991.

There is one reference to methane gas, on March 31, 1992, in the mine's southwest section. "The methane is coming in waves. There is ventilation going through this area. When the methane reaches top high, 50 feet out the readings are 30."

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EARLY WARNINGS

Carlford Frange, chairman and chief executive officer of Carruth Inc. and Westray Coal Inc., responded to a letter on Nov. 9, 1988, to apparent concerns in Ottawa that his plan for developing the Westray mine, including federal loan guarantees, indicated low financial risks on its sole company with the government. In his response letter to Harry Rogers, deputy minister for regional industrial expansion, Frange argued that he faced substantial financial risks, in part because the project was hazardous by its nature. An excerpt:

"A lot can go wrong in the development of this mine. In particular, the hazards of developing a deep coal mine at the surface of Pictou are many and can occur without warning. I will associate them for you, but

to quantify the severity of the problems is not something that you are able to put into a Business Plan.

"We hope that Westray's mining efforts and commitment to having the best in the form of geology and mining efforts will reduce to an absolute minimum the chance of these problems developing. As Westray moves underground in the development of this mine, we are prepared to cope with the following problems, whatever geological faults, mines of water, poor soil and poor conditions, ocean gas, warily on new earth mud, unstable and impervious personnel, underground fire, and others."

In the 12 months before the last Westray explosion on May 9, 1992, inspectors from

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line has granted last April by the previous local administration. The funds would be used to strip away another 100 m of rock and earth—the job is already 300 m deep—to expose the Granite deposit.

The eight claim blocks southeast of the plant, out Fero pit—initially situated the mill for the past six years—and could feed the mill for about eight years. Curragh is the Yukon's largest private-sector employer at a temporary population of just over 31,000 residents. And the Curragh operation at Fero and the St. Denis Mine near Watson Lake, which employed just over 140 people, represents fully 45 per cent of the Yukon's economy. "We're a big player in the Yukon economy," said John Hagg, 46, the vice-president and general manager of the Fero mines and mill. "This is a good operation. It has achieved its productivity and cost targets. It's not something reckless. If we get the loan guarantees, we'll be a good operation again—and we can sustain it."

Curragh From the perspective of his Whitehorse office, Yukon Government Leader John Ostshack expressed his concern. "Look at the federal government's and New Scotia's policies in Western Canada," said the 59-year-old former cabinet minister. "This is the first political job. Government gets into some crazy things, and we're hoping that we're not one of those governments. We are not a western coast bank and we don't want them back in a few years for money to strip the Dryden job (as one body near Grand). If the company can survive in the long term then the loan guarantee is a good investment. Otherwise, it's not."

In an effort to protect such an investment, Ostshack's government applied 14 conditions to the loan guarantees that it agreed to grant Curragh on March 4, including the reopening of the St. Denis Mine, for which the government has supplied \$1 million in costs and employee training. The conditions will bring negotiations in Toronto, with the brokerage firm Bessie Fry representing the Yukon. Saying that the "bill is in Curragh's court," Ostshack conceded, "If Curragh goes down, there is going to be a real economic downturn in the territory. We're faced with that."

Without the mine, Fero has a future as harsh and unforgiving as the surrounding landscape. After the last big closure in 1982, most people left but changes have changed over the past decade. As he wears his four-wheeled driver pickup across the dirt bridge spanning the Fero River and up towards the plateau on which the town sits, Fero mayor Bob Gault

points through the star bursts and jagged cracks in the wasteland—canyons of rocks split up from the roads by other pickup trucks—at a firebreak cut into the scrub pine below the tree line in the snow-covered North Mountains behind the town. "A year after the town was first built in 1968, the whole thing burned to the ground," said Gault, 35, his nose as gravelly as the road. "That's when they cut the break." The town has escaped fire ever since then, but like mining towns across the country, Fero people share a broken-over fear below the surface. They say that the day a major mine is in one day closer to closing. The difference

in any case, Feroites are few opportunities elsewhere. "The problem is that people here are specialized," explained mechanic John Gannon, 46, a native of Durville, Que., who moved to Fero in 1969. "Only about 15 per cent of us are in trades. Most of the people heavy equipment operators who work the pits, they have to go to another mine. And we know from the recession that jobs in the mines just aren't there."

Denis Hagg, a 25-year-old heavy equipment operator from Langley, B.C., said that he has a job to go to but added, "There's not much out there. We may say what we want about how distant the community is, but if you're out of work for six or seven months, you're not going to be able to stop. A long drive will just devastate this town. It will go from 2,500 people to 500 just like that."

The stress on individuals and families is already showing. Between jolting phone calls as a member of the mine's Employees Family Assistance Program in an office of the Northwestern building on the edge of Fero, Toronto native Sherry Bach acknowledges the realities of the mining life. "We know that mines shut down every day," said Bach, 42, who before the company layoffs worked \$115-145 an hour servicing the mine's heavy equipment. Her husband, Ken, worked as a millwright. They have worked at Curragh for the past five years, renting a three-bedroom house in town for \$500 a month, and spending up to \$200 a month on heating oil when the winter night air becomes an adversary at 80° Celsius. "If the mine shuts down for good, we can deal with that, we can go forward," said Bach. "But right now, people's lives have just been put on hold. We're going nowhere, while decisions are being made without a human touch."

Spring has come to much of Canada, but in Fero, snow has been on the ground since the end of last August, and thick layers persist. Outside the coffee shop, in the hotel parking lot only a few puddles glaze in the early April sunshine, and the events of last week have hit the town like an Arctic cold front. "Fero was the crash zone," said Tschetter with a sigh. His main local priority any morning more heavily each day. "There's excitement about the Yukon, and it didn't work out. Local and state prices are down, the company's broke. All of a sudden, it's all over in 10 days. But the old here, we've got the skilled people. We made it work before and we can make it work again." But for now, the Tschetter and his husband can do but have another cold, light another expensive hope and wait.

DALE QUINN in Fero

Curragh, Northwest



this time is that, unlike 1982, not everyone wants to leave.

Gault explains that isolated places like Fero provide one of the few remaining pockets of true freedom. Gault was born in Ottawa, served with the navy, and real estate has been a justice of the peace, and owned and ran a restaurant in Crowns, Sask., before heading to Fero. "I basically came up here as a paragon in 1977," he says, "and by 1987 I was mayor. And they wonder why you go to the Yukon? Well, I have every intention of staying here."

Feroites Gault, whose often outrageous "Dear Ed" column appears in the Fero Bessie monthly newspaper agrees: "This is a fantasy that we're living. There's nobody in big yards here—no one can be a pioneer and do your own thing. If you don't conform to society, it doesn't really matter." She says that she is staying.



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'WE'VE FOUND THAT MAYBE WE'RE NOT PERFECT'

To revise the record before and since the fatal Westray coal mine explosion on May 9, 1992, and to answer questions for requesting the mine. Maclean's Executive Editor Carl Miallin, Westray Barriea Chief John DeMont and Assistant Editor John Daly interviewed Clifford Fraser, the head of Corrough Inc. and Westray, for two hours in his downtown Toronto office on March 23. Excerpt:

Maclean's: Westray is closed, your mine and last mine in the Yukon are shut down and you are trying to sell another one located in British Columbia. You are also trying to sell \$20 million worth of gold-mining machinery. Do you think that you can survive?

Fraser: I don't think that any comments in the world predict the length of this recession. The Westray accident also drained us very, very severely. As a result, I think our banks got a bit nervous. They certainly had the right, because of falling share prices. But I think they might have been a little more liberal had it not been for the combination of events. Since the accident, we've had to cough up close to \$50 million out of our working capital.

Maclean's: Do you have to get the private sector to finance you?

Fraser: There is \$35 million insurance money as money that requires the release of the federal government. The money plan will take about \$25 million—\$16 million plus the special insurance, from which we figure we'll get, conservatively, about \$18 million cash flow.

Maclean's: Given what has happened at Westray, why should the Nova Scotia government let you start a strip mine?

Fraser: To take this whole Nova Scotia thing has been a terrible task. Only Corrough has said, "We're going to find out the cause of the accident." Everybody else has been looking for somebody to blame. They're like vigilantes. They're being looking for blame. It's like the old cowboy western, "Let's go and find somebody to blame and hang the guy quick, let's not find the cause of the accident."



Fraser: "Everybody has been looking for somebody to hang."

direct." I promised to tell the families the cause of the accident. Now I'm out going to go down there and point fingers. I think it's a terrible situation which we have a society where you've got 26 people killed and we're only out looking for blame.

Maclean's: How do you feel about people who point their finger at Corrough?

Fraser: First, you had the commission set up and you had the commission judge saying that he's going to investigate everything and we're going to point fingers. And then you had the mine set up, well we're going to find the blame. And believe that, the media should had Corrough corrected, of course. Like Susan Staska—she wasn't even there when two or three of the victims were murdered. She wasn't even at work, but they had her convicted in the press. Like Donald Marshall down in Nova Scotia.

Maclean's: Are public workers going to sue you? Jack Nova Scotia and the jobs have

to have an election this year.

Fraser: The politics could work against us. And if we have to walk away because the politicians throw us out, well that's their decision. But if reason and sensibility prevail, we will be going on the right to reopen the mine and find the remaining victims or make a demand paid upfront at it. We need the strip mine because we don't have enough money and we're not about to go and ask the kids or the province for any more money.

Maclean's: Without mining in your industry, why is it important to get the bodies?

Fraser: Well I think the underlying importance is that the major resource in there is in Nova Scotia and the jobs are needed. If you agree with that, there's a terrible responsibility to ensure those victims' bodies and not to work in an underground graveyard. I think it's a looking of the families that the victims are still down there. It's my feeling. But, it is not out of her with images on the mine itself.

Maclean's: People say that you have a money issue as a major factor for not paying money from government. How do you respond to that?

Fraser: I'd love to deal with that question. How does a public mining company or individual in this country get venture capital? When I took up three two years ago, Donatien Scott had been trying to sell it for two years, and the federal government. So I went to the federal government and I said, "I can do this project and this is what it is." All the federal mining guys got pushed it. I told them what could be done to make it economic. So the federal government said to me, "OK, we'll give you an 85-per-cent-of-\$15-million guarantee provided you can raise at least an equal amount of money." So I raised that money from the United States. And I got the federal money. When I went to pay a book about of what, they were so astounded that they didn't have a means of collecting it because nobody ever paid these back about at schedule.

Maclean's: What about Westray?

Fraser: I didn't think I was interested in the

factious idea at first. Then Bob Coates [then mayor of Cumberland County] asked me to meet John Buchanan [then Nova Scotia's premier] and I had two meetings with him. He said nothing. John Buchanan said to Coates, "Does this guy ever ask?" I don't like to look at something and blow my horn if I can't do it. Anyway, there was nobody who could raise money.

So I went to the federal government and said, "I can do this project if you support this project for an 85-per-cent guarantee. That's the only way it is going to be done. We can do this project but we can't finance it. I went up there twice and my people carried out all subsequent negotiations. I saw Robert de Cotter [then minister of regional affairs (trial expression)]. I saw Elmer MacKay, because he was the local member. I didn't see anybody else. I went in five or six times and told them what it would take to do it, and it was.

Maclean's: In Yukon, the government has attacked some of its conditions in the offer of a \$20-million loan guarantee. They took away you to save your landscape over in Yukon.

Fraser: Oh that's a tongue-in-cheek. I think it's fair that maybe we need a top-level executive up in Whitehorse again. You know the idea for the government to have some speciality, is just overreacting. It's a private enterprise, could have the government take and they would have more, I wouldn't see a nickel from there. Every time you do a capital program, or here a program, they take the tax. Every time you see a piece of equipment, they take the tax. Just from the concrete and sales taxes, the federal and provincial government would make \$28 million in nine months. They will lose it if we disappear from the scene.

Maclean's: But they are clearly very skeptical about your business.

Fraser: Of course, wouldn't you be? We're doing a very large money and we've got three things out there we're trying to do. But we're not to look at what they are developing up there and what you're going to say comparison. From 1988 to 1990, it was a good time to start. You're a son of a bitch if the two levels of government are going to live by the thing shutting down. I mean, my son, my three-year-old son—should be able to figure that out.

Maclean's: What about the take-up payment that Westray got with the Nova Scotia government. The obligation for them to pay for a minimum amount of coal each year, even if they didn't like it?

Fraser: You know—600—or pay is a money. That old Guy Carleton, sorry, the Premier, is being blamed for the take-up pay

We made one half of a tough deal there. The federal government said we had to mine a million tons a year to qualify for insurance. We had contracts for 700,000 tons. Chances are that Trevelyan Works could get additional quantities, and that Nova Brunswick had different needs. If we took any of that money, it was really just a reassurance to the feds.



The Westray mine last week. "The politics could work against us."

We still had to pay back that money with full security rates and paid specified conditions. I take big exception to people down there who have called it take-up pay and to allege say improperly. I tell you, Donny Cameron made one hell of a tough deal.

Maclean's: Some owners down and that

**It's a non-brainer
if the governments
are going to lose
by the thing
shutting down**

Westray was simple, that it was just a case you should take quickly.

Fraser: Well that of Gerald Phillips, the mine manager, had a very good reputation.

Now since the accident, we see to find that people were not perfect. As I said to you at the beginning, I'm not going to start pointing fingers. The company started at the beginning, that the mine would have all the most up-to-date safety and operating equipment and we did not care where, whether it was a new type of computerized on these debts, on which they put down there—or equipment for training in mine rescue teams as special machines. I mean, if somebody like me also operated 17 years over a period from

1957 to 1985 in the uranium business, and went through a horrendous amount of criticism for safety and the environment and so many things to improve safety would never permit the building of any operation that wasn't first class.

Maclean's: But the mine itself very solid, and using the best equipment?

Fraser: The criticism about the failure not knowing anything about the rock. I don't remember it because where the rock came down, it was almost exclusively in an area where they had some reinforcement steel, two sets. So they understood the rock very well. As far as the gas is concerned, the mine is a low gas environment compared with mines in Appalachia. But there has been a certain amount of what's the word—overconfidence that set in because of the low gas environment rate, they may have put a little bit complacent. In many coal mines I've been in, you can actually see the effects of methane coming out of the wall. It would be the cost. But there was nothing like that down there. And there were large thin. The basic ventilation was quite good.

Maclean's: But then you had three areas of safety violations that you say.

Fraser: We have three areas that they weren't perfect. But if you go to Toronto [Cage Breach Development Corp.] mine you'll find the same level of inspection reports. Or if you go to Alberta. That's the inspector's job. And there should be a quick acknowledgment that, again, I don't want to put fingers at them, but there was a deal responsibility there. All right? And never at any time were we in this offer made aware that that there was ever anything to worry about.

Maclean's: What is holding up your plans to replace Henry?

Fraser: It's the high profile politics of it and the fact that the government might be involved in the financing. We're directly private enterprise. We put our application early, but we were not it was reasonable to make those applications. We didn't put any pressure on us to immediately start mining again. That's the kind of abnormality we had me to re-examine the conditions. It was simply political.

Maclean's: Are you doing personal financial now without doing up properly?

Fraser: Oh no, I don't think I'd get anything to do with finance at all or money at all. I'll be in this strictly for money during the peak of the aluminum market. I don't think I'd sell my shares for \$75 million plus. Now my shares are worth nothing. I mean, I'm able. I want to get that thing going again. I want to do down there. I want to do that. It's paid-out-of-pocket as much as anything else but responsibility to it.

'A FATEFUL MOMENT'

IN CANADA, U.S. BUDGET PLANS TO CUT SPENDING AND CREATE JOBS HAVE RESONANCE IN THE FREE TRADE ERA

In his 14-minute inaugural address last Jan. 20, President Bill Clinton promised to end "the era of deficit and debt" that, he claimed, had weakened America, brewed an economy and destroyed the confidence of its people. Even then, it was no secret how he planned to pursue radical change, since the November election, Clinton had talked of the need for serious economic reform, including a new health-care system, for less spending on defense and a determined attack on the deficit. However, by last week, it was clear that the era of deficit in Washington politics was far from over. In Congress, Republicans successfully maneuvered to prevent the Democratic majority from passing a \$200-billion job creation bill, part of Clinton's overall economic plan to lay the groundwork for a new era. Then, two leading Democrats made it clear that a tax break to encourage business investment—the other key plank in the stimulus plan, is unlikely to be approved. "Our opponents apparently didn't want to hear about the human cost of playing politics at the country's expense," fumed Vice-President Al Gore. Short back Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. "If he keeps talking like that, it will be less and less likely there will be a compromise."

The world is watching. As America goes, so will major portions of the industrialized world. In Canada, of course, proposals on spending cuts, health care, welfare and other social programs have serious economic, especially given the free trade agreements. Alan Wolfe, deputy director of the office of management and budget, told *Newsweek*: "I think it is a fateful moment." If the United States is to have a rising standard of living and the laws for playing the role that most of us feel that it should play in the world—being an economic leader



At work aboard Air Force One: the era of political deficit is far from over

and a contributor to the prosperity of the world—then we have to get the economy turned around."

The plan itself, aimed at creating public works and summer jobs for inner-city youth, is included in a \$38.4-billion economic stimulus package—the first piece of Clinton's program to reach the floor of Congress. There is also a \$36-billion proposal to induce companies to spend on machinery and equipment. But the President's entire \$151-billion budget, submitted to Congress last week, is under assault. First, there was the Republican blowback on the job legislation, then the public opposition of Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and powerful

ways and means committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski to the company tax break. When Congress reconvened on April 19 after the Easter and Passover breaks, Clinton will face an angry crowd. And, by the convention that even larger cuts are needed in spending than he proposes. And the budget takes no account at the cost of the President's commitment to provide health care for all citizens. Said Thomas Gallagher, political analyst with the Wall Street brokerage firm of Shearman Latham Brothers: "Clinton's political standing is weaker than it is presently perceived."

One reason is that the budget will raise more than \$207 billion in taxes, while cutting the deficit by \$425 billion over five

years. It also forecasts a deficit of \$207 billion for fiscal 1994. Some parts of Clinton's program will indeed be difficult to sell. They include massive loans on social security benefits, in some cases by hundreds of dollars a year; raise cuts in defense spending, putting a tax on electricity, gasoline and other fuels; increase royalties on hard-rock mining and probably getting rid of below-cost timber sales. Nevertheless, the White House has already held a busy retreat in

last week as it considered the budget and the program it contained would have an impact outside the United States as well.

Another member of the MIT faculty, Robert Solow, winner of the 1985 Nobel Prize in economics, said that Republicans attempt to cut back on the short-term stimulus program, for example, "is a bad mistake for the country and for the world because if the U.S. economy recovers a little more quickly, it will help Japan, Canada, Britain and the rest of the world to come back more quickly." Solow accused Clinton's predecessors, George Bush and Ronald Reagan, of "quite deliberate neglect of the U.S. economy." However, he rejected arguments that their policies had threatened the survival of the American economic system. "I think capitalist democracy will survive the Clinton administration no matter what happens," Solow said.

"I don't honestly think we are looking at a serious window of opportunity that we dare not miss. I don't think confidence will end if the Democrats do a mediocre job."

However, some financial experts disagreed. Stephen Rasch, co-director of global economic policy for the Wall Street brokerage firm of Morgan Stanley, said he worried that the President was "headed exactly down the wrong track." The economy, he said, had gone through wrenching changes during the past few years but had begun to emerge "with the potential for a solid growth/deflation recovery, which would keep interest rates and inflation rates low and lay out a sustainable and meaningful picture, with a job recovery." But Clinton was going to burden business with new

taxes and his consumers with tax increases "just as they are struggling out of a mortgage recovery. It would be a real tragedy if this recovery were believed would unfold as I think it should be by a policy blunder."

Across America last week, the reports watched closely and widely as the President tried to get his game plan in place. "Clinton's strategy is about right and his policies are about right," said Lester Thurow, dean of the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). "He is trying to push consumption down and investment up. He is dealing with the right problems, but you can't do too much without creating a recession." The mystery that historians will use the ponder about the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, Thurow said, "is why didn't anyone care about the future? All

costs and his consumers with tax increases "just as they are struggling out of a mortgage recovery. It would be a real tragedy if this recovery were believed would unfold as I think it should be by a policy blunder."

WAB CORRELLA with CHRIS WOOD in Dallas and MARY MCKENZIE in Washington

World Notes

ON THE DEFENSIVE

Bosnian Serb forces refused a Canadian UN relief convoy access to the besieged Muslim town of Sarajevo after an ultimatum at a Serb checkpoint found a large cache of ammunition hidden about a 100-mile truck to a convoy. Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's Serbs, accused the United Nations of trying to smuggle the ammunition to his enemies. A spokesman for the UN peace-keeping force said that the incident will be investigated "to establish confidence in our operations."

A NUCLEAR HUSH

In what Russian spokesmen acknowledged as their most serious nuclear incident since the 1986 Chernobyl disaster in neighboring Ukraine, radiation leaked from a two-year-old nuclear reprocessing plant near the Siberian city of Tomsk. An official said that no one had died in the accident and that radiation levels posed no danger. But the environment minister, Yuriy Gerasimov, who has a branch in Moscow, claimed that several villages were threatened by fallout.

SOUTH AFRICAN ASSASSINATION

Black South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani, 56, was shot and killed in his Johannesburg garage and police arrested a 40-year-old white South African, Bhebe, an advocate of peaceful reform, was a possible link to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, 74.

POLICING THE SKIES

At a meeting in Brussels, NATO members decided to deploy American French and Dutch warplanes that would enforce a UN no-fly zone over western Bosnia. Canada, Britain and Turkey also agreed to join the mission if needed for the first NATO mission outside the borders of its 16 member states.

EXCESSIVE FORCE

A U.S. military court martial in Magdalena Island, El Salvador, 32, guilty of aggravated assault for wounding two Salvadorans after a youth stole his sunglasses. Court last his rank and was awarded pay. Meanwhile, four Canadian peacekeepers, arrested after a Somali soldier was apparently beaten to death while in custody, returned to Canada to answer investigation questions. A 4th Canadian soldier implicated in the death was in serious condition in an Ottawa hospital after trying to hang himself in Somalia.



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BREAKING POINT

David Poirer's patience ran out on March 30, 2003. On that day, the government of British Columbia presented a budget for the 2004-2005 fiscal year that included \$844 million in new taxes and \$2.5 billion in new spending initiatives. Poirer, who runs small plant manufacturing business in Vancouver, says that several measures included in that "humble document"—specifically a new property tax surcharge—transmuted him from a "solid-couch potato" into the leader of the non-partisan Citizens for Fair Taxation. Although the New Democratic Party withdrew the property tax surcharge almost immediately because of widespread public backlash, Poirer's group has continued to gain momentum. At a meeting in a Vancouver church basement last week, hundreds of people from across the province met to vent their anger. Poirer says that he, like most others in the audience, has never been politically active before. "We're not voting right-wing radicals or 'free-marketting' anything," he said. "Well, I mean, I said that 'None of us really object to higher taxes, we object to the continued spending'."

Poirer and his comrades are not alone in their anger about government spending and rising debt levels during the past several months. The issues of public debt, deficit and excessive spending have moved steadily to centre stage in Canada. The currency and stock market volatility that accompanied the constitutional referendum last fall highlighted all Canada's dependence on foreign lenders. Heated debates during the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign also drew attention to public finance and social programs in Canada. Now as Canada's federal election approaches later this year, the \$490-billion federal deficit—and the urgent need to reduce it—has emerged as a dominant issue.

In part, that is because members of the so-called baby boom generation have now reached their 40s and concerns about the security of such programs as universal health care and old age pensions are becoming more pressing. In addition, as the historic economic growth of the 1980s faded into recession, more Canadians have become aware of

PROTESTS GROW AGAINST HIGHER TAXES AND FEES AS GOVERNMENTS TRY TO CHECK SPENDING AND CUT DEBT

the high cost of debt and the need to scrutinize all expenditures more carefully. Sadi Nassef Moqassa, a professor of public administration at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., "Canadians may not like it, but many now realize that the time has come for them to grow up. They know that they can't afford to keep it all and keep it away."

At the same time as that public awareness has grown, there is a heightened perception that government at many levels is unresponsive, overly bureaucratic and complacent. During the recession, many Canadians have called the agency of massive corporate restructuring, including extensive layoffs, reorganization cuts and business bankruptcies. But while blooded companies have had to come to terms with competitive global markets by flattening their structures, governments have largely resisted. Instead, in a speech to public-sector union leaders last week, Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae asked that "we were hoping that the economic recovery would allow the pressure of government deficits to lift off."

At the same time, the public's threshold for higher taxes and increasing government spending has sharply diminished. Donald Squire, a professor of public administration at the University of Manitoba in New Brunswick and author of *The Politics of Public Spending*, says that the new reality of global markets left the private sector far more poised and persistent adjustments. Now, many voters who have suffered from the economic up-

turn of the past several years are applying some of those new criteria to the public sector. "The perception is growing that the real class has taken it in the gut and has borne the brunt of the pain" and "leave" they are fed up with political posturing and with governments just listening at the margins of the problem."

In the recent series of provincial budgets, most governments have mostly precluded their concern about debt levels and their inability to support the current level of housing with a limited post-recession economic base. Still, many of the restraint programs announced over the past month entail relatively modest cuts. In the Manitoba budget released last week, the proposed measures including a broader sales tax, reduced property tax credits and a range of user fees that will generate a planned \$200 million for next year, the government, which spent \$5.5 billion last year, or \$702 million more than its revenue, pledged to cut its spending by just two per cent.

Where provincial governments have attempted to impose tough budgetary measures, however, they are encountering resistance in some quarters. Last week, New Brunswick Premier Clyde Wells called a provincial election after disputes with public sector employees who object to his proposed cut of \$70 million from the civil service pay roll. Said Morley Reid, president of the Newfoundland Teachers Association: "If they want to maintain the level of public service,



Montreal riot police in retreat: a demonstration against a new property tax

they have to pay for it. We don't think this provincial problem should be solved on our backs." In New Brunswick, where Premier Frank McKenna's March 20 budget new requires voters to pay the province's 13 per cent sales tax for three purchased oil reserve lands, native leaders have protested by erecting firebombs, confronting the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and threatening even more violent protests. At the municipal level, taxpayers in Montreal marched on city hall to protest a new property surtax.

To avoid such confrontations in Ontario, Rae is preparing to negotiate what he calls a "social compact" with public employees to cut at least \$7 billion from the provincial budget. At an initial session in Toronto last week, Rae said that he would delay his budget until the talks with the unions, scheduled to begin on April 18, make some progress. The financial community's concern about that consultative approach, however, is the ensuing uncertainty. Last week, currency traders anticipated the first increase in the Bank of Canada rate in over weeks to a weakness in the Canadian dollar, caused by Ontario's mounting debt crisis—and the risk of a federal rate hike to deal with it.

At the federal level, the depth of the public will to address the debt issue should be tested in the election campaigns being up. Although Premier Minister Donald Mazur-

kowski initially indicated that he would introduce a new budget on April 20, he delayed it until April 28 because of his trip to Tokyo that week to attend a G-7 economic summit. A federal-provincial economic summit is also scheduled for early May.

Although candidates for the leadership of the federal Conservative party, as well as Liberal and NDP leaders, have stated their intention to reduce Canada's deficit, few have provided detailed proposals. The leader of the Reform Party of Canada, Preston Manning, plans to release the second phase of his economic strategy in Vancouver this week. He says that he would eliminate the federal deficit within three years by cutting annual federal spending by \$10 billion and by making such progress as unemployment insurance self-financing.

Manning told Manning's last week that he would leave the universal medical care system in place as long as Canadians were prepared to make cuts and adjustments in other government programs. "The situation is not extreme that if something isn't done about the debt, we won't be able to sustain any social spending at all," he added. And for a debt-ridden industry in which the average age of its officers is steadily rising, that possibility represents an increasingly real risk.

CUTTING LOSSES

The Ontario government has sold the last of its money-losing investment in Sencor Inc., the Toronto-based oil company, for \$140 million. The Ontario Energy Corp. sold about 7.6 million shares, or 34 per cent of Sencor's outstanding common shares, to Toronto-based broker, firm RBC Dominion Securities Inc. and ScotiaMcLeod Inc. In 1981, the then-Conservative government agreed to pay \$650 million for a 25-per-cent stake in the company. At the time, the government said it needed a "window" on the oil industry because energy prices were expected to soar in 1982. The then-Liberal government wrote off the value of the province's investment.

WITHOUT WORK

Canada's national unemployment rate rose to 11 per cent in March from 10.9 per cent the month before, according to Statistics Canada. The reported increase came as the month's decline that began in November 1992, when the rate was 11.6 per cent. The number of Canadians out of work in March rose by an estimated 27,000 to 1.14 million. Statistics Canada blames the increase on a large influx of people into the workforce. This influx consists of people who had dropped out of the workforce temporarily but, seeing better job prospects emerging in the economy, decide to re-enter and look for work. Employment has shown an upward trend since April, 1992, with the creation of 300,000 jobs.

A CORPORATE ROMANCE

Atlantic Canadian Natural Corp., one of Canada's largest independent production companies, is heading to the altar with Harcourt Televison Ltd., which sells as well as the world's largest publisher of no-nonsense fiction. The two Toronto-based companies plan to produce and market movies for television and home video adapted from Harcourt's library of more than 13,000 novels. The value of the deal was being publicly disclosed, although the official version scheduled to be announced, each budgeted at \$5 million, to be completed by summer 1994.

DRUG RESEARCH INVESTMENT

Du Pont Pharma, a partnership formed between pharmaceutical companies DuPont and Merck Inc. in 1971, announced that it will spend \$147 million on medical research in Quebec over the next five years. The Massachusetts, Ont.-based company's goal is to discover and develop drugs to treat heart disease, cancer, arthritis, Alzheimer's disease and AIDS.

ILLUSTRATION: MICHAEL RAY

The new politics: cut, cut, cut

The Ontario NDP makes an offer the unions may refuse

From his 10th floor office, Michael Decker, deputy minister of health, surveys the Ontario legislative building as well as other key landmarks in the province's architecture of power. To the south lies the Toronto Boardwalk, the largest chain of hospitals that stretches down University Avenue. To the northwest, he can see the curved, soaring headquarters of the country's largest utility, Ontario Hydro. Next to it are the offices of the Toronto Board of Education. And to the west is the campus of a leading institute of learning, the University of Toronto. In another time, that view might not be considered negatively remarkable. But for Decker, it is appropriate to have such a window on the public sector. Ontario Premier Bob Rae has just appointed him as the new responsible for hammering out a new social contract with the beleaguered province's public-sector unions. That agreement is required to help Ontario reduce a budget deficit that Rae says could soon reach \$13 billion. Decker is clearly aware of the magnitude and the urgency of his task. "The union can do itself some serious harm," he said, "and it's expensive."

If anybody can alter that status quo, it just might be Decker. A veteran member of the New Democratic Party (NDP) and a top lieutenant in the NDP government of Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley in the 1980s, Decker, 46, moved to Ontario in 1984 at Rae's invitation. He was tapped to negotiate an agreement with the province's disgruntled physicians and he stayed on to become deputy minister of health. In that capacity, Decker has reduced the annual growth in provincial health spending by one per cent from 11 per cent. But he and his fellow lieutenants in Ontario and in other provinces now face the task of achieving similar results in the sprawling public sector. So far this year, the provinces have presented consolidated budgets, carefully calculating the message that people want no more and demand less. Another message—and in due course this—part of the drive for spending restraint, however, is the co-operation of thousands of public-sector employees across Canada, including those Decker sees from his office.

At the federal government level, while the Progressive Conservative party has repeatedly announced the need to address public debt and deficits for public service too, to date, remained largely uncommitted. Last November, Secretary of State Robert La



Carrie proposed a 200-page report recommending a drastic reduction in the size of the federal bureaucracy, including cuts in the number of cabinet ministers. So far, none of those proposals has been introduced.

The emphasis on fiscal prudence and downsizing has recently gathered momentum at the provincial level—even in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario, where the year, a well-known city of organized labor, is in power. In Ontario, where the NDP government presented an expenditure-heavy budget in 1991 designed to progressively slash the provincial economy, there have been surges of impending expenditure cuts ever since. In recent pro-budget hearings, Human Minister Floyd Laughren has made it clear that his next budget, expected in mid-May, will contain some combination of tax increases, spending cuts and wage restraint to meet the deficit to under \$20 billion.

Despite the urgency of the situation, there is going to be elaborate leeching to make the inevitable cuts more palatable to his political

HOW MUCH A TAX INCREASE YIELDS

(Per percentage point in Ontario)

Full-year yield, 1990-1993, \$ million

RETAIL SALES TAX	
1%—general	\$651
PERSONAL INCOME TAX	263
EMPLOYER HEALTH TAX	
1.33% (1.1%)	136
(proportionately reduced, depending on rate of payroll)	
GASOLINE TAX	
14.7¢/gallon (1%)	122
(proportion of 10 per cent)	
TORACADO TAX	
(\$1.30 per 20 cigarettes)	71
(proportion of 10 per cent)	
CORPORATE INCOME TAX	
15.75%—general	60
SUBSIDY	56

reporters in the public-sector unions. Last week, he took the first step towards initiating a so-called civil dialogue when he convened a small meeting with representatives of about 500-600 public workers and 10,000 public employees, such as school boards. Together, the total compensation bill amounts to \$43 billion a year—more than half of paid directly by the provincial government. Facing a \$7-billion revenue gap, and a looming \$12-billion deficit, Rae said, "I have been told that it's unethical to demand to be into deficit reduction." But, he added, "I think it would be irresponsible of any leader of any government to see the debt pay that

we see in design of future cuts, and to reduce to requirement and do something about it."

However, in a Rae's conviction of his broader moral obligation, his lieutenants have been met with growing suspicion and concern by public-sector employees. While the real negotiating between Ontario and its workers does not begin until next week, and Decker insists that he is satisfied with the current state of good-will, some labor organizations continue to express apprehension about the government's indefinite proposals. Following meetings last week, they repeated their threats of a general strike as well as their determination to act collectively to ensure a struggle of other levels. Brenda, from Upland, president of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, declared that the government attempted cost-cutting through legislation rather than negotiation. "We'll sit the province down tight."

Indeed, from the outset, several unions have adamantly insisted that there must be no layoffs and no wage rollbacks. Ontario Teachers' Federation president Harriet Schindler said that teachers' "We're wondering quite openly what the intention is" he added. "Our fear is that the union pressure is on the students at end job. We're not really prepared to order to continuously bargaining."

Underpinning the elaborate negotiating process, however, is a stark reality. To balance the public accounts and to allow governments to sustain growth while maintaining social services, the government has to endure a fragile recovery marked by meagre job creation. So far, the economic recovery has only put more pressure on governments to spend on social assistance, increase training funds and cut corporate taxes. Said Donald Perry in Canadian Tax Association, a sister of the Toronto-based Canadian Tax Foundation, "An economic recovery is their only hope for salvation, but even that will not produce results." He also noted, "The gap between provincial revenue and expenditures has never been wider in the postwar period."

Clearly, even robust economic growth will not erase years of government spending increases, which inflation has frequently masked in the past. Unlike previous recessions, however, there is no indication to most economists that this time, and some say cuts can no longer disguise real increases in expenditures. As a result, the cuts to government budgets must now be real and not, as many cases, the related tax increases will cut deep. The decisions that he ahead will be particularly difficult for the public employees, which together with the provincial employees an extensive, universal social programs.

Both labor leaders and members of the public have said that they would welcome changes in the provincial bureaucracy. Judy Dwyer, president of the 175,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), said (Macleans) last week "We want

How we would use helicopters to battle unemployment.



The United Nations report on unemployment predicts Canada's rate in 1993 will be the highest of all major industrialized countries. This is a direct result of an increasingly conservative policy to fight inflation by pulling Canadians out of work.

We believe the only way to a healthy economy is by responsible spending and a commitment to full employment. That is why we would cancel Ottawa's \$2.5 billion unnecessary helicopter order and keep the money in Canada to put Canadians back to work and to help endow Canada's economic debt.

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to ask. We have plenty of ideas about where the waste and inefficiency is." She added: "It's a waste, it's very costly. It's a better alternative to the one and the hammer."

While Ontario's government is literally pursuing a collective agreement with its public-sector unions, other provinces have also sought concessions from their employers. For the most part, however, they have not opted to entrench public-sector unions about their economic strategy. In Newfoundland, where 2,000 public-sector workers have been laid off since 1995, the \$100-million provincial teacher's union has told the charge against Premier Clyde Wells's March 17 budget. The latter confrontation, which could escalate into a general strike, led to Wells's decision last week to call a provincial election, for May 3.

Meanwhile, in Manitoba, last week's budget detailed a cut of 500 employees and the imposition of 10 days of extra unpaid holidays for its public sector. Currently, Manitoba is debating a bill that would allow public agencies to impose up to 15 unpaid days for public employees. Sent Paul Martin, a Manitoba representative for CLTC, "We are fans of the legislature's banner being brought down on us. We haven't even had the prospect of negotiating let alone a fiscal contract."

To date, only the NDP government of British Columbia has formally bargained with a segment of its public-sector workers. The ongoing contract, which calls for a 30-per-cent cut in the number of hospital employees, guarantees jobs for those dis-



Don't fly. Laughrent's search for civil designer

placed workers in related sectors. For the province's fractious health-care industry, the settlement has so far been successful. Sent Carmelo Altieris, secretary of the 30,000-member B.C. Hospital Employees' Union, "Our historic agreement can be the prototype for health care reform across Canada." She added: "If you had

asked any of us if this kind of accord were feasible six months ago, we would have said no."

Although Ontario may agree to follow the B.C. model, Don and Duxbury may find that path strewn with obstacles. For one thing, it took the B.C. government 41 days to negotiate the agreement with its health-care workers. In Ontario, the agency of the budget critics, given that a government's credibility hangs in the balance, it is a much more difficult task. Sent Duxbury's Darcy, "If the government expects this to be done for us May 15 budget, then it is doomed to failure." As well, Duxbury already admits that the B.C. agreement is "beyond our capacity to afford."

But even if the negotiations in Ontario are successful, fiscal relief for the province will clearly take a long time to accomplish. Ontario, like the country, has a long way to travel before the economy blooms again and government revenues increase. Sent Duxbury, "The reality is that there is no simple solution. The social contract offered a different route. It was a better route than unilateral government action." But unless progress can be made, and quickly, the provinces may have to seek an alternate route.

SCOTT DUXBURY

BUSINESS WATCH



Becoming aware of the Japanese reality

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I've always had the suspicion that our economy went off the rails when we made the free trade deal with the wrong country. It should have been with Japan instead of the United States. And the irony should have had only one paragraph. For every engineer they send us, we send them six lawyers.

It didn't happen quite that way, but it's still true that we pay for too little attention to our closest neighbor across the Pacific. The real problem is that most Canadians tend to view Japan as a far, distant country on the other side of Europe, instead of realizing that it's our second largest trading partner and that expanding our ties with that Oriental giant would help lighten our dangerously fragile trading dependence on the United States.

It's a fact little recognized here that Canada's transatlantic trade surpassed our transpacific trade in 1983—a full decade ago, and that it has been expanding ever since. It's also true that our relations with Japan—economically, socially and culturally—are truly in need of repair, and that what happens in this essential area will have a great deal to do with our future.

On May 17, at the World Summit House, former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed will be the keynote speaker at the Canada-Japan Business Council Conference, attempting to substantiate hard doses of reality for the traditional (and blasé) image the Canadian have of our neighbor. "For most Japanese," I was told by Lougheed, who heads the Canadian team in the talks, "Canadians have not always been visible, with their distinctive identity obscured behind the overwhelming image of the United States, while for most Canadians, Japan has remained distant and often misunderstood."

According to Lougheed, "Both countries must recognize that the drastic adjustments to a dualist structure and identities they're undergoing could open up special new opportunities for valuable bilateral links."

For the past 15 months, Lougheed has

Our relations with Japan are badly in need of repair—what happens there will have a great deal to do with our future

headed a minor royal commission, called Partnership Across the Pacific, consisting of a dozen leading Canadian thinkers and activists, including such luminaries as Felix Ostry (chairman of the University of Toronto's Centre for International Studies), Jacques Gauthier (coordinator of Asian Affairs), and Gerald Kennedy-Wallace (president of McMaster University). Peter Bentley (executive and CEO of Canstar Corp.), Japan's former ambassador to the Canada Centre for International Studies (formerly of Southern Bell) and Ryo Eftan (chairman of PWA Corp.). At the request of Ottawa, Lougheed's seven-man, which is dealing with a number group of Japanese, has already come up with some practical recommendations on how to improve relations between the two countries.

The seriousness that the Japanese have placed on the exercise is evident from the weighty Asean delegation they chose for the talks. Among the participants are the chairman of Honda Motor Co., the head of Nissan & Co., the president of the Industrial Bank of Japan, the chairman of Japan Airlines Co., two former vice-ministers of the Japanese Ministry of International Trade & Industry, as well

as one of the country's leading novelists and one of its best business designers.

"It's critical about the possibilities," says Lougheed. "In British Columbia and Alberta, there's a much higher percentage of what's going on, but we've got to get Central/Canadian also clear to the importance of not tying our future just to North America, with all the volatility and vulnerability that implies." He adds, "More by necessity than by choice, we're being pulled into a worldwide trading block, and in our opinion it's a big mistake. If we're going to look at a new part of the world, it should be Asia."

Recommendations of the like-ribbon panels have included new initiatives in political cooperation, enhanced economic ties, closer cultural and social contacts, a drop-out research and environmental monitoring. Harbinger of the former Japanese attitude to Canada, (now serving in the same capacity to the Court of St. James's) stated, "It is up here when he pointed out that dealings between the two countries constitute one of the best bilateral relationships in the world. But they must receive a higher priority."

One of the most practical recommendations from the bilateral group has made it that two countries jointly appoint a minister for Conflict, Prevention and Conflict Resolution that would train civilian and military personnel in approaches of peacekeeping. (The Japanese did recently for the first time approved the dispatch of troops to a UN-sponsored peacekeeping operation, to Cambodia.) The new facility would be built beside the campus of Princeton College at the Pacific near Victoria—an appropriate choice near the former prime minister's hometown of the idea of peacekeeping.

Another of the group's suggestions, contained in its December 1995 report, is that the two countries intensify launch a bilateral program to protect the fish resources and guard against pollution in the north Pacific Ocean. The idea would be to collaborate in building a similar (to be launched in the year 2000) and other information technologies that would keep track of exactly how the Pacific is being treated—and monitored. (The agency that could be helpful in this essential endeavor is the Deep Sea Research Institute currently being formed by Vancouver architect Gerald Hamilton.) This report has accumulated the valuable expertise of its authors who played the project primarily believing that only by outlining forward-looking notions was there a chance to break the stagnation that has immobilized our evolution in this potentially beneficial area. To allow such a valuable document to pass the stacks of university studies and on some bureaucratic's shelf, would amount to something close to a criminal act.

Only by following the kind of initiative leaps suggested in this document can we hope to make a start in dealing with the stubborn structural and cultural roadblocks we've placed in our own way, as the road to economic salvation.

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ENVIRONMENT

Sick of work

Finding why some offices make people ill

Started in a relatively older neighborhood in central Haldim, Camp Hill Medical Centre overlooks parkland and renovated 19th century homes. But for hundreds of the building's employees, going to work even in these pleasant surroundings has been literally a sickening experience. Some employees complained of symptoms such as headaches and fatigue throughout the 1980s and by the early 1990s a variety of

when 20 to 40 per cent of workers start complaining, it is almost certain that there is significant contamination in the building, either being drawn in with outside air or arising from inside the structure.

Thus difficulty in linking individual symptoms to causes in the work environment has contributed to skepticism about the existence of the syndrome among some health professionals as well as among owners and



Off-duty work suffering from fatigue, shortness of breath, headaches and allergies.

problems, including contaminants in the air conditioning system and a poorly situated exhaust duct, had caused about 600 of its more than 1,000 employees to take some time off work. Two hundred of them remain away from their jobs. With symptoms that include headaches, dizziness, nausea and fatigue, they are victims of so-called sick building syndrome (SBS), a personal and sometimes debilitating problem for thousands of working Canadians.

First identified in the mid-1970s, SBS has been widely blamed on the energy-saving, airtight buildings that proliferated after the oil crisis in the early part of that decade. In buildings that are poorly ventilated, or where indoor air becomes contaminated by other means, occupants may experience reactions to pollutants such as toxic gases created by building materials. Partly as a result, residential students were moved to the United States and Canada in 1980. But new evidence is emerging, most notably in an investigation by researchers at McGill University, that ventilation alone is not always the solution. The study, reported last month in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, found that massive infusion of outdoor air had no effect on the number of symptoms reported by employees in four typical high-rise office buildings in Montreal.

The escalating debate over the best way to deal with SBS may be due in part to the lack of a precise definition for the syndrome. Many experts in Canada and the United States describe it as a condition in which more than 20 per cent of occupants in a building experience of symptoms that are usually, but not always relieved when they leave the building. Douglas Waldman, an Ottawa consultant who specializes in the diagnosis and treatment of sick buildings, says that up to that level, complaints are "just typical" of any work place. But, he and

colleagues of suspect buildings. But that trend may be changing as researchers learn more about the causes and effects of SBS. Norman Epstein, chief of the allergy clinic at St. Joseph's Health Centre in Toronto, says that he is seeing more patients who complain of itchy eyes, headaches and trouble wearing their contact lenses. "Typically, patients with these complaints have just moved into a new building or their building has been remodelled," Epstein says. "I wasn't sure about the effects of SBS in the past, but I am beginning to be a believer."

Another believer is Bona Cathart, 55, a nursing assistant and president of the Nova Scotia Nurses' Union based at Camp Hill hospital. She suffered a series of severely painful headaches soon after she began working there in 1985. Since then, her health has de-

teriorated and she has been off work since last October. "Some days I can't walk a block," said Cathart last week. "I have shortness of breath. I also have severe allergies that I never had before. I am really angry."

Todd Matheson, an engineer who specializes in the inspection and care of sick buildings for the federal department of public works, estimates that about half the cases can be traced to problems with a building's ventilation systems, including poor design and maintenance. The other half arise from internally generated pollutants, such as car exhaust from parking garages, fumes from liquid photocopiers and heat generated by computers, laser printers and electronic machines. But Matheson also noted that SBS is almost always a problem that can be reversed. "Virtually 100 per cent of the time we can find something that needs fixing or improving."

Chemical pollutants that are commonly found in the air of modern offices are part of

a group known as volatile organic compounds. They include talcine (from floor coverings, contact cement used to secure carpets and most cleaning agents), formaldehyde (from glues and the bonding agents used in the particle board used in office furnishings) and acetone (from paints and coating materials). The best solution, experts say, is to reduce the various sources of contamination and reduce air circulation from as much as possible. Robert Robinson is a senior environmental engineer for Healthy Buildings International (HBI-Canada) Inc., a Mississauga, Ont., firm that conducts indoor air quality audits across Canada. "It is often difficult to pinpoint any one cause of sick building syndrome," he says. "But there are a lot of simple things you can do, such as providing adequate ventilation and control-

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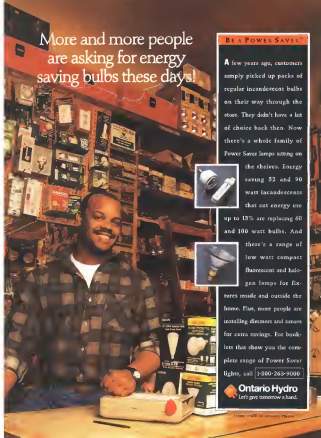
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bug the source of indoor pollution."

One of the first buildings in Canada where SBS surfaced was Les Terrasses de la Chaudière, a massive federal government complex built in Hull Que. in 1977. Many of the 6,500 civil servants who worked there began complaining of dizziness and headaches soon after moving in. While many of the problems mostly due to poor ventilation, have been alleviated, its reputation survives: the complex is commonly known in the capital area as Les Terrasses de la Shuddy Air. And according to Nathanson, workers in another Ottawa-area office tower, built in 1976, complained of chronic headaches and fatigue for several years before inspectors finally located and remedied the problem in 1982. Designers had placed an air intake duct next to an exhaust duct, permitting air just expelled from the building to be sucked back inside. Employees in a four-story Toronto office, built in 1952, began to complain of headaches and air and eye irritations, symptoms typical of allergic reactions, soon after a new air-circulating system was installed in 1980. Nathanson said testing revealed that poorly maintained water supply humidifiers had allowed for the growth of a mold-like fungus.

But as the McGill researchers noted, the notion that strikes many references of SBS as the most obvious—higher levels of outdoor air than are now required under most building standards—may not be nearly as important as was once thought. The interdisciplinary McGill team asked employees to detail their symptoms during a six-week period. At the same time, they flooded the work areas with fresh air as a periodic breeze. The researchers found no change in the level of reported symptoms even when they doubled the amount of outside air being pumped in. Concluded co-developer Richard Mowse, a principal in



Shaw's Chaudière complex: dizziness

Westgate on the study: "SBS may be due to a lot of common, ordinary things, such as a slight increase in air temperature, reduced air movement, or lowering of humidity that adds up to create considerable human discomfort." Such conditions also may have played a role within almost all buildings, which is in part the reason that some people suffer from SBS while co-workers do not.

But for hundreds of employees at Camp Hill Medical Centre, it was of little consequence whether the causes of their discomfort were simple or complex. For many of them, the fatigue, joint pain and severe

headaches they suffered as a result of working at Camp Hill have changed their lives. Employees have found many problems at the hospital, including a ventilation duct that recirculated contaminated indoor exhaust from a dishwasher and airborne particles of anti-corrosives used in the anaesthetizing system. Said Calcraft, "People were complaining of headaches, but most, lots of memory, skin rashes and respiratory problems. Mostly young women in their twenties had low pulses, vertigo pain and swollen joints. There was also a lot of depression."

Kevin McNamara, vice president of his firm's research at the hospital, says that almost all of the problems have now been remedied. The case, however has been resolved. Since 1980, the hospital has spent \$2 million on renovations as well as more than \$200,000 on consultants and other professionals who provided assistance. As well, \$4 million has been paid to employees as for by the Workers' Compensation Board and the hospital. Notes McNamara, "It's disruptive for the hospital and disturbing for the staff whose identities have been affected by this."

Local employers get to work in a building with SBS, again says that the best way to alleviate problems is to increase the time spent in environments with better air quality. Those affected should spend their lunch hours and breaks outside whenever possible. And they may have to make some sacrifices to keep their homes comfortable—that means no smoking, no air bearing pets, especially cats, and no candles in bedrooms, to reduce dust. The effects of SBS are varied and complex, but relief is within reach for most people who, finally, are sick of where they work.

FREDERICK CHAPMAN with **SARAH DOYLE DESROGERS** in Toronto

CASHING IN ON GOOD AIR

Real estate moguls are fond of saying that only three things matter in their line of work—location, location and location. Now, however, managers of commercial buildings across Canada are discovering that prospective tenants are keenly interested in another factor: air, and air that was certainly the case for Parly's World Development Ltd., an eight-year-old twin-tower complex with 950,000 square feet of commercial space in Halifax, where the commercial vacancy rate is about 30 per cent. After hiring commercial consultants to conduct regular tests, Parly's began promoting its superior air quality about five months ago. "Air quality is a key marketing feature," said company president John Leachway Jr. "It helps sales; current tenants are already in the first quarter of 1993, we have signed

more new tenants than in all of 1991."

One reason that landlords are becoming more concerned with air quality is their growing better understanding of environmental issues, especially the phenomenon called sick building syndrome, which occurs when many of a building's occupants report such symptoms as headaches and fatigue. "Employers are starting to really consider the hidden costs of absenteeism and lowered productivity associated with sick building syndrome," said Robert Johnson, senior commercial engineer for the Mississauga, Ont.-based Health Buildings International (HBI) Canada Inc., which conducts indoor air quality audits across Canada. "We the smart building owners and managers are concerned, too. They know that if they have a sick building, people won't want to leave from there."

For landlords looking to make objective claims about the air in their buildings, as do quality seal customer key areas in demand, including the ventilation system, the filtration system and overall building maintenance.

Johnson said that it is even more helpful, however, if indoor air reports are involved during a building's planning stages. That way they can address air circulation issues building design and the movement of air to the addition of building and decorating materials.

High vacancy rates in commercial office buildings are also forcing landlords to realize that good outdoor air quality can give them a competitive edge. "We're seeing some leverage now in obtaining a good indoor environment," said Ehsa Sterling, president of Theodor D. Sterling and Associates Inc., a Vancouver firm that has specialized in indoor air quality since 1981. Sterling added that a growing part of his business is a competitive edge for quality audits for companies before they move into a building. Sterling added, "Product teams will make sure that they are moving into a healthy building." While indoor air quality is available, it is now a new high profile with tenants and landlords alike.

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SUBARU IMPREZA

BOOKS

ed! Even the harrowing scenes involving violence and incest with children (passages that Findley says he wrote with "a terrible sense of irreverence," since they drew on the shadowy corners of his own imagination) have a humanity and sense of possibility that make them all the more shocking.

For all that, the novel is not entirely heavy going. There is humor in Ishik's ironic take on religion, and there is a beguiling playfulness in the way Findley pays homage to the great novels he has read and loved, including Unreliable. Findley's *Melrose Bayway* Findley's famous tale of a bored provincial wife finds its echo in Findley's character Emma Berry who, like her Japanese predecessor, experiences her boredom in the back of a moving vehicle—on Berry a once a while stretch limousine that prowls the streets of Toronto. Findley claims to have observed a similar character himself: "There is a woman in Toronto—I call her a courtesan because she's so elegant—and I saw her collect a chess piece in her white limousine," he is coiffed. It is not necessary to catch the Berry name-dropping to enjoy Findley's book. But it lends weight to *Bloodwater's* fit and affirmation of the ability of good stories to shed light on the state of society's soul.

Where *Bloodwater* is a sprawling work concerned with characters and subplots, *The Stillborn Lover* has the quiet self-possession of an artfully planned Japanese novel. Indeed, the

play reflects Findley's long affection for Japanese literature: for years he says, he has kept a copy of the 15th-century book of court songs. *The Fifth Book of Sin* (Shogakukan) is his best. The beleaguered hero of *Love's Harry Ray* and *William Hartz*, two Canadian diplomats who, years before the events of the play, used a Japanese posting to cultivate a deep knowledge of that country's culture. As the drama opens, it is the fall of 1972, and he and his wife, Maria (Gloria Hertz), find themselves in a Japanese-style house perched on the bank of the Onuma River.

The Raymonds are in trouble. Maria is sinking ever deeper into Alzheimer's disease. And there the current resemblance to *Melrose Bayway* has been brought home because of a horrible international scandal: a young Russian male, a friend of the Raymonds, has been found murdered in Moscow, and the Soviets are demanding that the Canadian government drop some lights on Harry's apparent connection with his death.

Under this dark RCMP questioning, Harry exposes corners of his life that he has kept secret for years. And while he painfully remembers his role wonders in ever deepening labyrinths of forgetfulness. Hartz and Harry play a deeply moving game with the two characters as they reveal an unusual but profound married love that has successful stories that few couples could have weathered. The play also establishes a telling opposition between the vulnerability of the Raymonds and the guard

of duplicity of their friends. Excellent roles: Michael (Donald Davis) and his secret, volatile wife, Juliet (Patricia Gilchrist). As in *Bloodwater*, is the apparent lovers in *The Stillborn Lover* who make the most contact with their own humanity, while the typically mobile Russians (Ollivier) is about to become a great character) are willing to smolder themselves on the altar of expediency.

The word "Travelside" is repeated like a mantra throughout the play. The Japanese city, destroyed by an atomic bomb in 1945 (the Raymonds were once posted there), symbolizes the evil destructiveness of those who have sacrificed decency to their lust for power.

The play ends on a tragic note, with the bleak vision of *Bloodwater's* characters, interpreted by a conclusion to which the possibility of defeating evil, at least for a time, is affirmed. Findley admits that the original book was far more pessimistic: "That ending is not the one I honestly would have put there," he said, "except upon the wings of angels. They told me I couldn't shut the door in people's faces I had to keep it open a little. So I did." His decision seems the right one. In the end, *Bloodwater* reminds from the heart of dark ones with a small but hard-earned optimism of hope. Like the playwright Findley once watched in a Washington courtroom the devil affirm the ability of the conscience in defiance to make a difference.

JOHN REMICK

FILMS

Take my wife—please

For a cool million, the lady is a tramp

It is an amusing proposition, one that could get couples engaged like rats in the night, calculating the price of each other's devotion. If a rich stranger offered a wife, would you spend a night with a married woman; how would she and her husband respond? If the stranger were Robert Redford, many women would settle for a lot less—especially if the husband were Woody Harrison. Andrew Probyn might have worked as a comedy. But French director Adrian Lyne, known for *Fatal Attraction*, related the multi-villain question into a high minded morality tale, offering all the obvious answers. Is adultery bad? (Yes.) Can money buy love? (No.) If you sleep for your wife, will she respect you in the morning? (Maybe, but you won't respect yourself!)

The greatest is everything: David (Harrison) and Diana (Diane Lane) appear to have the perfect relationship. She complies when he leaves his socks (just



Moviehouse (left), Moore: aqueducts ending an act

around) but their sensibilities inevitably cool in sex, portrayed in low-paced peckish moments. While Diana sells real estate, David, an architect, builds their dream house as a

choice strip of California seashore. It is real life, he would need a million dollars just for the land. Then the seashore hits and their "second" life crumbles. With their house on the line, David and Diana go to Las Vegas to gamble their way out of debt. There, however, John (Redford) offers David a million for a night with his wife.

Lyne never asks how the deal is constructed—only its consequences. And, inevitably, Diana falls for the billionaire as soon as he gives the definite evidence that he is human. Woody Harrison plays his under-scripted role with the emotional depth of a *Nagasaki* choir. Moore is every word—a victim soul (stiff) on the shores of two golden boys. That leaves Harrison to do all the acting. Just as his character necessarily struggles to win back his self-esteem—and his wife—the actor seems to be allowing the press of playing the black-headed bartender on *Clayton*. By the end, the movie is as much a sentimental fable as *Indecent Proposal* any second life. But the complex intrigues by the end are better advised to premiere on evening television, a more daring than seeing it in the cinema flesh.

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SUBARU IMPREZA



A legend in the news game

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are some images that never fade. The first everbreaking story. The last of the London. The first job interview. My first job interview was spent watching Don Cousens, publisher of *The Vancouver Sun*, sit with his feet up on a desk attempting to flip paper clips in to the bowl of a ceiling light.

He talked and he interviewed, but his attention never wandered from the task that he had obviously spent many hours—and years over—attempting to master. He was my first boss, probably the most eccentric one, and when he died the other day at 77, the *Canada* newspaper business lost one of its first legends. St. L. Menckens used to say that working for a newspaper was more like being a quiet girl. Cousens proved it.

The reason I was sitting in his office was because, as a university student, he had printed a business notice at the time Vancouver dailies were particularly cruel to the college. Sun sports editor, who had partially financed my way through school with spare rates at \$5 cents per inch—for nighttime work.

He promptly announced he was suing my agent, the student editor, nine ways to be bankrupt. I was in the middle of exams, broke, new without a job. Publisher Cousens then read the offending story—which carved him up as also—thought it a great haul, called me in and in typical generous manner sent me to work for the sports editor. Who didn't require me for the first six months (unthinkable).

Don Cousens came by his eccentricity naturally. It is a classic story in Canadian newspapering how after his first Cousens was an office boy with a British Columbia railway concern that owned the paper during the First World War. There were strikes, lockouts and conduct matters that had to be sorted out, the provincial solution being to put the paper in the name of office boy Cousens and the lawyers and the courts got things "cleared" up.

When events did come and they came back to take legal control in 1917, the shrewd young office boy sold his assets and



began a family dynasty. He was a health nut and a virtuoso who corresponded with Benares Macdowell, George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells.

He installed a wireless gym in the Sun Tower, a Vancouver landmark, in the 1930s. It was undoubtedly the first health club in Canada. It got plenty of use—by the editorial writers who used it in their detaching retreat.

A vegetarian, he made editors accompany him to his morning-as-forth walks—where he felt first one day while still in middle age.

As a result, Don Cousens became general manager of the *Sun* while only 38. Several years earlier, he had ridden the rails for a year on the advice of his father. He was barely 30 when older family squabblers decided to sell the paper. The swashbuckling sports editor Hal Straight talked Don and his younger brother Sam into taking over the paper—on the condition that Straight would become the managing editor.

Don ran the editorial side—while mastering the paper's ink. Sam, an apparently hard-core character, ran the business side. And on Fridays after the last shift, he would take the entire newspaper room across the street to the Lotus Hotel in Chinatown for beer.

There was not a more relaxing atmosphere in the country. When Pierre Berton and his bride were looking for the big ones in Toronto, the wedding breakfast party at the restaurant ended with their friends stripping them into sackcloths, racing to the airport with a story that was always stay on top-shay reporter Ray Munroe's car dumping them at the Trans-Canada Airlines center and walking away. When Sputnik went up, Cousens dispatched Sam canoeing to the top of the Grasse Mountain ski slopes across the horizon—which the paper just happened to own—over the theory that at the height of 5,000 feet his photo would get a world exclusive of the spending satellite.

Don's English air was a Brian Keith definitely took a pin and scratched it across their already black negative and another Don first was recorded.

There was the time when Cousens had the brilliant idea of taking Jack Scott, then the most powerful writer at press in Canadian column-writing, off his Suburbs Island retreat and making him editor. Shortly after, photographer Marie Morera, the tobian editor who had an office larger than the entire sports department, was sent to Port Louis to interview Cheung Kuei-shih. But not before the magazine Sam photo had captured Stakes as English boyhood, as a footnote and wearing a helmet in a parade taken by the police.

Quest and investigative himself, Cousens knew the gestures that made his paper a joy to work for. When the *Sun* hit the major circulation figure of 200,000, the annual Christmas blowout at the Commodore Ballroom was capped with a marvellous noon sign as always. Under the "200,000" was "1966" which whirled out, for circulation manager Herb Goss, a new white Cadillac. When Sam died, it was a midnight boy's night-out escape, the balance wheel evaporated from the balance act. Don sold out to Calgary (yes, Sam Bell and—typical—then tried to buy it back the next day. The next day was the first day when the *Sunday* came, which came both morning Vancouver paper, but was an occasion in that it was a company that been angry.

H. L. Menckens had it right in the first place.



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THE NEW SAAB 9000 CSE

the CSE's powerful 200 horsepower turbocharged engine also developed a unique engine management system called Saab Trionic. The result is better performance, lower emissions and lower fuel consumption.

At Saab, we feel a performance car isn't worth driving if it's not safe. That's why the 9000 CSE comes with an anti-lock braking system and Saab's Traction Control System. Its tough steel cage, crumple zones, driver's-side airbag and new side-impact reinforcements mean it's one of the safest cars you can find yourself in.

All our Saabs are backed by a comprehensive new vehicle no-

deductible limited warranty of 3 years or 60,000 km and a major component limited warranty of 6 years or 120,000 km*. And Saab's 24-hour-a-day Roadside Assistance Program* means we'll be there to help should almost any emergency arise. Even if you've locked your keys in the car.

Now, after all that's been said about this car, you may be feeling a certain attraction to it. Of course, this was never our intention. If you feel the need to further explore the possibilities of a relationship, call 1-800-263-1999 for the location of your nearest Saturn Saab Isuzu dealer. But remember. We're just coming to terms with our beauty.

**SAAB***See your Saab dealer for details. Certain limitations apply.